

## The Sun

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## The Treaty of Portsmouth.

Yesterday, only one week from the day when Japan's magnanimous concessions made the drafting of a peace treaty possible, the envoys at the Portsmouth conference affixed their signatures to that historic document.

Thus were concluded, so far as lay within the power of any save the Czar of Russia and the Mikado of Japan, the negotiations that have so tremendously augmented and extended the reputation of the President of the United States.

Without Mr. ROOSEVELT the final scene in the big plain yard building at Portsmouth would not have been enacted. Another might have called the conference. Another might have given voice to the world's hopes when the issue seemed in doubt. No other would have done what he did, in the way he did it, at the time he did it, or under the circumstances that moved him to act at the critical moment.

When in future an historic painter attempts to picture on canvas the signing of the Portsmouth Treaty he must omit from it the foremost figure in the conference, for the man who made peace was the man of Oyster Bay.

## Compulsory Investigation, Not Arbitration.

Colonel BRYAN addressed a Labor Day picnic in Omaha, Neb., Monday, and contributed a suggestion for the settlement of disputes between employers and employees that was more sensible than the oft repeated cry for compulsory arbitration. Colonel BRYAN said:

"There ought to be in every city, in every State and in the nation a permanent arbitration board with power to investigate and report on any labor trouble."

"The compulsory investigation of a labor trouble must be distinguished from the compulsory enforcement of the finding of the board. It is far more important that the investigation shall be compulsory than that the finding shall be binding, because public opinion will surely enforce a fair and impartial finding."

The plans for compulsory arbitration that have been advanced from time to time have been defective in that they provided no practical method for the enforcement of the awards to be made under their operation. In specific cases the parties in dispute might consent in advance to be bound by the decision of a board of arbitration, but no general rule has been devised to compel such consent. Under the present legal system no rule could be laid down covering any and all cases that might arise. Colonel BRYAN wisely abstained Monday from an attempt to formulate such a rule. Instead, he would have compulsory investigation, apparently with full publication of the findings in each case. The rest would be left to the operation of public opinion.

What value there is in the plan thus outlined is a question. To determine the scope of such investigations might prove perplexing. The selection of competent investigators would offer many difficulties. In practice it might be found that what seems so simple in theory would prove impossible of execution, but Colonel BRYAN is right in his estimate of the power of public opinion to correct any abuse of sufficient importance to receive its attention. This, in fact, the leaders of the movement for the "closed shop" are learning, and the strong sentiment in favor of the open shop manifested in many parts of America now is the result of the abuses the unions have fostered under the guidance of fanatical or corrupt "leaders."

## The State Debt.

Two amendments to the State Constitution affecting the State debt are to be submitted to the voters on November 6th next. One, if adopted, would change from eighteen years to fifty the term for which State bonds may be issued. The other would allow any moneys in the State treasury to be used for the payment of interest and establishment of sinking funds, purposes for which the Constitution now requires the levying and collection of a direct tax. Both amendments are designed to aid the Republican party in maintaining its policy of no direct taxation, the policy so strongly advocated by BENJAMIN B. ODELL and so strongly condemned by intelligent students of taxation.

According to the report of the State Treasurer, the total State debt at the close of the last fiscal year, September 30, 1904, was \$9,410,000. Of this amount \$5,500,000 is the canal debt, of which \$3,500,000 is the 3 per cent. loan authorized by Chapter 70 of the Laws of 1895. The unhappy history of the expenditure of that money is not forgotten. Of the 6 per cent. Erie and Champlain Canal stock redeemable July 1, 1897, or sixty-eight years ago, \$100 worth is still outstanding, and \$500 worth of the 6 per cent. canal revenue certificates redeemable July 1, 1873, has never been presented for payment. The loan of 1895 is due in three instalments, \$1,270,000 January 1 of next year, \$4,000,000 six years later, and \$3,230,000 in 1913.

The Adirondack Park loan of \$400,000 (Chap. 220, Laws of 1897) is in the form of eight bonds of \$50,000 each, half of which fall due February 1, 1907, and the rest one year later. Two Compromiser's certificates for the purchase of Adirondack Park land (Chap. 561, Laws of 1895),

bearing interest at 3 per cent., each amounting to \$55,000, which were outstanding on September 30, 1905, are redeemable, one January 30, 1905, and one on the same date next year. This made the Adirondack Park debt \$510,000, of which \$35,000 was paid this year.

The balance of the outstanding debt as of September 30, 1904, consisted of 3½ per cent. registered bonds of \$5,000 each, issued for the expenses of the National Guard, naval militia and volunteers under Chapter 672 of the Laws of 1898. Twenty of these bonds were redeemable November 1, 1904, and an equal number May 1, 1905. This leaves \$200,000 of this debt outstanding, \$100,000 payable November 1, and \$100,000 May 1, 1905.

The State is committed to the expenditure of \$101,000,000 for canal improvement under the vote of 1903. This year the voters are to be asked to approve a constitutional amendment under which a debt of \$50,000,000 may be contracted by the Legislature for highway improvement. All of these debts would be affected by the amendments proposed to Section 4 and Section 11 of Article VII of the Constitution. They propose a radical change in the financial policy of the State that merits the most exhaustive study before it is sanctioned.

## How Will the Peace Affect Reform in Russia?

Although the statement telegraphed from Moscow on September 2 that the Government had decided to postpone the inauguration of a national assembly for at least a year, "owing to practical difficulties," has since been contradicted, it is natural that Russian reformers should feel a good deal of misgiving about the fulfillment of the promise made in the ukase of August 19, now that the autocracy is no longer weakened by the necessity of keeping the bulk of its military force at the further end of Asia.

The apprehension is justified by experience, so far as the reign of the present Czar is concerned. The course of the Government has been marked during the last eighteen months by incessant and flagrant inconsistency. For a time the progressive party would seem to be preponderant at Peterhof, and then suddenly the Reactionists would regain ascendancy. It has even happened that two irreconcilable edicts would appear on the same day, the one instinct with the spirit of inflexible absolutism, the other evincing a mind open to conviction and a willingness to make generous concessions to the demands of Russian Liberals. The fact that NICHOLAS II. has set his signature to a particular document has ceased to be construed as definite and final proof that a particular line of action will be followed. It would therefore surprise no onlooker to hear that the ukase convoking a national assembly had been rescinded, or that the execution of it had been deferred, or that such changes had been made in the electoral basis as would deprive the Chamber of a claim fairly to represent the Russian people.

It must also be admitted that the Reactionists, who recovered the confidence of the Czar in the interval between Mr. WITTE's departure from Russia and the conclusion of a peace by the plenipotentiaries at Portsmouth, may now plausibly contend that the grounds on which the ukase of August 19 was issued no longer exist, and that consequently an intelligent self-interest should prompt the autocracy to recall or at least minimize the concession to the advocates of Western institutions. The Czar promised a national assembly for two reasons: first, because he wanted internal tranquility; and secondly, because he wanted money. By conciliating the Liberals he hoped to attain both aims. Now, on the other hand, that the great army under General LINIEVICH will presently be at his disposal, the Czar may think that he has no reason to doubt his power of maintaining order, and he also knows that, thanks to the diplomatic triumph gained by Mr. WITTE, he will now experience no difficulty in effecting further loans abroad. The fact that peace has been made without the payment of an indemnity signals strengthens Russia's credit on the stock exchanges of London and New York, so that it will not much matter if French capitalists show themselves indisposed to increase their investments in Russian securities. Some advisers of NICHOLAS II. are likely to point out that LOUIS XVI. would never have called together the States General in 1789 could he have borrowed from foreign bankers hundreds of millions of francs. Why then, they may ask, should the Czar take the perilous step of summoning a national assembly now that his fears have been dispelled and his necessities relieved?

That champions of the absolutist régime and representatives of the bureaucracy will urge NICHOLAS II. to defy public opinion at home and abroad by violating his pledged word, given in the ukase of August 19, on the plea that a foolish promise has been broken than kept, we have no doubt whatever. We believe, nevertheless, that the ukase will be carried out. It will be carried out because almost every landowner who was represented personally or by deputy in the congress of zemstvos at Moscow has a son or brother among the officers in the army under General LINIEVICH. The rank and file of that army will be glad to return to their homes, but they will bring back rankling memories of the hardships and privations to which they have been subjected through the shocking mismanagement of the commissariat and the medical department. They will be in the mood to listen to propagandists of liberal or revolutionary ideas, and among the younger officers there are likely to be many such propagandists. Long ere this the ukase of August 19 has been the theme of exultant discussion at every officers' mess and around every campfire in front of Harbin or at Vladivostok. It would be a very dangerous thing to affront half a million of soldiers known to be already in a discontented and vindictive mood. Not until the army under LINIEVICH shall have been brought back in detachments, and until the regiments suspected of disaffection shall have been isolated,

will it be prudent or safe for the Czar to provoke such an outburst of exasperation as would unquestionably follow a revocation or even a long postponement of the promise that a national assembly shall be held in January next.

The most redoubtable conspiracy with which the house of Romanoff has had to cope in two hundred years was that of December, 1855, which was organized among the regiments brought back from central and western Europe. Confronted with that terrible uprising, the issue of which hung in doubt for twenty-four hours, the dynasty might well exclaim, as CÆSAR did on the battlefield of Munda: "At other times I have fought for victory, but here and now I fight for my life." The haunting thought of the Decembrists may keep the present Czar faithful to his word.

## The Boast of the South.

Organized efforts to attract the stream of foreign immigration to the South are now made by Southern States. A Southern paper, the *Tradesman*, however, urges that great care should be exercised in keeping out undesirable foreigners.

This is reasonable enough, but that paper goes on to express sentiments which fly high above common sense:

"We in the South have something higher and nobler to live for than mere money making. We have a land the fairest that e'er the sun shone on, and a heritage the proudest ever given to human keeping, and we would bid the one and debase the other by receiving undesirable classes of immigrants to the South. May God help us preserve this land in its beauty and this heritage in its purity for ourselves and for our posterity!"

Higher and nobler ambitions than mere money making are not confined to the South. They have given and will give a prime impulse to all civilization. The South, however, wants also to make money, like every other part of the Union, and it is making money, and it is far richer now than it ever was, and it grows richer year by year with a remarkable rapidity; but it wants to be richer and it ought to be richer.

Whether the land of the South is the "fairest that e'er the sun shone on" is open to question—at any rate, will be disputed by the inhabitants of most other regions of the earth. Nor will there be general agreement with the boast that the "heritage" of the South is the proudest ever given to human keeping." Other parts of this Republic are convinced that they enjoy that favor by the partiality of Providence. In our greatest and proudest heritage, our political freedom, we all share alike, the South no more than any other part of the Union.

The South, greatly as it has prospered in the last twenty-five years, is still to a very large extent an undeveloped region. It is in need of improvement in every State and in almost every direction. Its resources have barely been touched by enterprise. It needs a greater population. It needs to get over celebrating itself as a glorious exemplar, as the "fairest land that e'er the sun shone on," to forget the past, to stop talking about its "proudest heritage"—in fact, to get over self-consciousness—and to go to work steadily to develop the riches with which nature has endowed it. Even when that is done the sun will be shining on other lands not less fair and not less worthy of pride, in the opinion of their inhabitants.

This is a very big world.

## The Rarety of Railroads.

The one and only issue that stirs the people of Georgia to-day is stated plainly and forcibly by the Hon. SMITH CLAYTON of Atlanta:

"HOKS SMITH is making a fight to make the railroad do right. He is battling for popular rights against corporate encroachments—battling for the Georgia people. He believes that the people should control the railroads and not the railroad companies. That's the point. He believes that these railroads should be domesticated."

The Georgia railroads must be domesticated, tamed, made to lose their present wild and ferocious nature. Georgia railroads must be run for and by Georgians. No foreign corporation must be allowed to own, control or manage railroads that run in or through the State. It may be a little inconvenient to change cars at the State line, but that is nothing by the side of a question of principle and right. The Hon. HOKS SMITH has raised the question, and he is supported by a "whopping majority" of the prominent people of Georgia and all the other prominent people of the South.

What are the enemies of reform, including, we regret to say, the Hon. CLARK HOWELL, that are they doing? Do they meet this issue fairly? No, they are quibbling and jeering. They are trying to defeat Mr. SMITH by harping upon the barroom of the Piedmont Hotel, of which he is one of the proprietors. One would think that the "charity balls" there sold were deadly ammunition against Mr. SMITH, who nobly gives his share of the profits to charity. The *Washington Reporter* expresses the sentiments of fair-minded men as to this Pecksniffian treatment of Mr. SMITH's liberal and liquid beneficence:

"We are no apologists for any one's bar, yet it makes us tired to hear the old rednecked toppers around town say they are agitators on account of the Piedmont affair."

And who are the assailants of one of Georgia's noblest sons? The *Milledgeville News* tells us:

"A great many of the fellows who criticize HOKS SMITH because he has an interest in a hotel, including the bar, are members of clubs where liquor is sold and are either running a bar or a blind tiger themselves. If no more objection than that can be found to Mr. SMITH he will pass inspection."

In vain does the Hon. TOM LITTLE fling his slings and sling his slings at the editor who "has never been able to tell the difference between that 'charity whisky' and any other—the next morning." In vain does the *Dalhousie Signal* assert "that HOKS SMITH's eloquent tongue and the palatable Piedmont bar have certainly defeated him for the gubernatorial nomination." He is not defeated. No "charity balls" can shoot dead the living issue. The railroads must be domesticated.

Already fate and metaphysical aid and the weird sisters foreshadow the peo-

ple's choice. The *Gibson Record* reveals and hails the omen:

"HOKS SMITH is sure to be Governor; he slept in the Governor's bed at DORM MASSENGALE's last week. This sign never fails."

There is but one shadow on the fair prospect. The Hon. JOE HILL HALL, the Whisker Son of Bibb, has asked DORM MASSENGALE to ask him to stop overnight.

## The Tallest Man in the World.

Once more we salute the Hon. CY SULLOWAY, compared with whom in longitudinal extension and upward thrust the Hon. CHARLES WARREN FAIRBANKS is as a wart to Ossa. From his watch tower the New Hampshire sky supporter sees many things, most things; nor does he hide them from a discriminating public.

In a tall and lengthy speech spoken to the New Hampshire Republican Club this brother of mountains uttered these grand truths:

"If a man eats at home with a knife, he should do so when he goes away, for if he attempts to use a fork he is sure to spill his food over himself and the party next him."

"I just ate a peach between courses, and while trying to be fancy I swallowed the stone."

Sublime common sense! Could BEN FRANKLIN have done better? A Copcord rebuke of affectation:

"I get up in the morning and look up in the sky, and, standing grandly on my State, I see one Czar. I take my trusty, trenchant fork, I carve a hunk of pie."

No foreign forks and franchises for me—I'm just like you, Czar."

Or, Czar, he's plain, but mighty high. And you'll see him high yet, you bet, long before you die."

So, take a glass of cider, pour in an inch of rye, Down with stone fences and up with Czar."

We suspect from Mr. SULLOWAY'S disquisitions upon deportment that he is thinking of entering the diplomatic service.

After twenty months of police administration under Tammany auspices, New York is everlastingly "the city that never sleeps."

Nothing of the sort. Never in the history of New York have "burglars and petty thieves" been fewer relatively than they are to-day. Even fanatical devotion to a fated political cause does not justify the libeling of the finest and best city in the world.

Nebraska is doing very well financially. Since May 29 the deposits in the Omaha national bank have increased \$4,800,000, the increase being largely due to the farmers, who are overloading their local depositories with cash. The wheat crop is still in the hands of the producers. The \$100,000,000 corn crop has not been sold yet, and the live stock is doing well. Nebraska is not asking for sympathy nowadays.

The London *Daily Chronicle* is responsible for a startling assertion, which it says it makes on unimpeachable authority, that the new pattern field guns for the British artillery are practically useless for the purpose of the war. The guns, it is said, are sent out to India, so its story goes, were found so far defective on arrival that they are being sent back to England for alteration. They proved quite unequal to the requirements of active service. This gun was declared by its makers to be the finest quick-firing gun in the world, and on the strength of the reports of experts the British Government decided on purchasing ten millions of dollars in roasting iron artillery with it. The matter has caused a good deal of sensation in England.

## Progress of Temperance in England.

From the *Church Ecclesiastical*.  
Brewers are just now much exercised in their minds over the great falling off in their returns. They say, "I do, it lifts the heart, shouts suggestion that beer is ceasing to be the national beverage and that a wave of temperance is sweeping over the land. It is a real calamity in saying that temperance reform is winning its way in England, and that the decline of the brewer is something more than a merely temporary depression. It is the enemy of the nation, and it is the people's misfortune that they did not see it before. The people are better roared upon a spit, but what spirit is so clean and fresh as a spit that has been newly tinned?"

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## CHINA TO THE FRONT.

The Smiling Suspicions of an Enthusiastic Democrat.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE SUN.—Sir: The editorial in Sunday's issue of the new Anglo-Japanese alliance raises the real question of the future in the Far East. That question lies beyond the military truce just concluded between the envoys of Russia and of Japan at Portsmouth.

It will be observed that while Japan is restrained from fortifying southern Sakhalin, Russia is left free to transfer northern Sakhalin by sale, lease or otherwise, to some other foreign power. What prevents her from selling northern Sakhalin to Germany, or if the French Republic is overthrown (a dramatic necessity of the future) to the empire or monarchy restored on its ruins, to France, in either case as the ally of Russia?

Such a transaction would only be in the line of the precedent already established by the sale of Alaska by Russia to the United States. That sale was made in order to place a naval rival of England in the Pacific on Great Britain's Canadian flank. The sale of northern Sakhalin to Germany or France as Russia's ally would place a powerful European naval power on Japan's flank.

Why not? The overthrow of the French Republic and the restoration of the monarchy of empire in France in order to safeguard the Kaiser from the danger of revolution would at the same time consolidate all the reactionary forces of dynastic rule on the European continent. It is the next thing to the restoration of the Holy Roman Empire, France, Spain, Italy and Austria would then be one. The possession of northern Sakhalin by Germany or France under such a coalition would become a standing menace to Japan.

As to the revival of the Treaty of Moscow of 1893 (an alliance between Russia and China) and the menace to Japan becomes a serious matter. The Treaty of Moscow of 1893, which gave Russia the right of transit through Manchuria and Korea, is not worth the parchment it is written upon. Russia, backed by Germany and France, with northern Sakhalin in possession of Germany or France as Russia's ally would make Japan's future very insecure.

On which the new coalition will pivot, is coming to the front as a mighty future military and naval power. She is stirring steadily forward with a confidence born of John Hay's diplomacy and the lesson taught her by the advent of the center of the stage in the great Asiatic drama. Russia, recognizing this, is not the China of ten years ago, or even of five years ago. And the China of five years ago is not the China of to-day. The day that Russia will be ready to move forward.

For Japan, it is a question whether under the influence of the treaty of her so-called "alliance" she has not thrown away the fruit of all the victories won on land and sea at such a terrible sacrifice of life and treasure. Japan is yet to learn fully by experience the bitter lessons which France will also be taught when she sees come to-day. Even fanatical devotion to a fated political cause does not justify the libeling of the finest and best city in the world.

Nebraska is doing very well financially. Since May 29 the deposits in the Omaha national bank have increased \$4,800,000, the increase being largely due to the farmers, who are overloading their local depositories with cash. The wheat crop is still in the hands of the producers. The \$100,000,000 corn crop has not been sold yet, and the live stock is doing well. Nebraska is not asking for sympathy nowadays.

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